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ANTIOCH ON THE ORONTES THE TOPOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS (4TH-7TH CENT. AD) *

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Abstract – A thorough analysis of historical sources, in particular the writings of Libanios, Ammianus Marcellinus, John Chrysostom and John Malalas, makes it possible to identify places in Antioch where the revolts of local populace broke out (most of all, the official buildings of secular or ecclesiastical authorities, but also places of mass entertainment) as well as provide an answer to the question of whether there were places in Antioch particularly dangerous and, more specifically, prone to outbursts of social discontent (generally speaking, the so-called New City, the vicinity of the Forum of Valens, the district of Epiphania). It also helps to appraise the degree to which these revolts affected the physical structure of specific buildings (in most cases, the damage was due to earthquakes rather than revolts). Finally, it suggests that social relations in Antioch, a city of so many religions, were relatively peaceful (mentions of churches, temples and synagogues in the context of revolts are very rare).

Key-Words – Antioch, Syria, topography, riots, Late Antiquity

Résumé – L'analyse détaillée des sources historiques, surtout des textes de Libanios, d'Ammien Marcellin, de Jean Chrysostome et de Jean Malalas, permet d'indiquer des lieux (surtout les sièges des autorités publiques ou ecclésiastiques ainsi que des lieux de divertissement de masse) où explosaient des révoltes de la population d'Antioche ; elle permet de répondre à la question si des quartiers particulièrement dangereux, souvent menacés par des explosions d'un mécontentement social (généralement parlant, la Ville Nouvelle, les environs du forum de Valens, le quartier d'Épiphanie), ont existé en Antioche ; elle permet également d'apprécier dans quelle mesure les révoltes de la population portaient atteinte à la structure physique des bâtiments particuliers (la plupart d'entre eux ont été détruits dans des tremblements de terre et non pas suite aux révoltes) ; elle suggère un caractère relativement pacifique des relations sociales dans une ville fortement diversifiée sur le plan religieux (dans la description des révoltes, il est très rarement question des églises, des temples et des synagogues).

Mots-clés – Antioche, Syrie, topographie, révoltes, Antiquité tardive

ملخص – تحليل دقيق للمصادر التاريخية وأساسا نصوص لبيانوس، وأميانوس مارسيليانوس، ويوحنا ذهبي الفم، ويوحنا مالالاس يسمح بتحديد الأماكن (قبل كل شيء مقرات الحكومة أو سلطات الكنيسة وأماكن الترفيه للشعب) التي اندلعت فيها تمردات سكان أنطاكية؛ ويسمح بالإجابة عن السؤال هل في أنطاكية كانت هناك أحياء خطيرة بشكل خاص، متعرضة لاندلاعات السخط الاجتماعي (بصفة عامة، ما يسمى بالمدينة الجديدة، ومنطقة حول منتدى فالنس، وحي أيفانيا)؛ إنه يساعد في تقييم إلى أي مدى تمردات السكان انتهكت الهيكل المادي من المباني الفردية (تم تدمير الأكثرية منها في الزلازل، وليس نتيجة لأعمال الشغب)؛ وأخيرا يدل على الطبيعة السلمية نسبيا من العلاقات الاجتماعية في أنطاكية، مدينة متنوعة للغاية من ناحية الأديان (في وصف التمردات نادرا ما تذكر الكنائس المسيحية واليهودية والمعابد).

كلمات محورية – أنطاكية، سوريا، طبوغرافيا، تمرد، العصور القديمة المتأخرة

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Despite decades of studies (dating back to the mid-19th cent.)¹ and the publication of many monographs, written singlehandedly² and in collaboration³, not to mention many articles scattered around a great number of scholarly journals, there are still topics concerning the history of Antioch in Late Antiquity of which our knowledge is very limited. A link between the topography of the city and the social conflicts that the city was plagued by is one of them.

I am specifically interested only in one aspect of the problem, leaving all the others out of my analysis. Thus, I offer no description of particular rebellions, nor do I try to explain their causes and effects, omitting a variety of details concerning the way in which a given rebellion unfolded (for example, the names of rebels or of military commanders). The only information I do provide is the one which, in my opinion, is somehow linked with the topography of the city. Throughout the paper I rely on the English translations of the primary sources I quote. However, the texts to which I turn for the identification of a specific place or building, or, inversely, for the justification of the inability to make such identifications are also quoted in Greek.

One more introductory remark. Leaving aside here archaeological data, most information regarding Antioch's topography comes from the written sources. Of crucial importance among the latter are texts by Libanius, John Chrysostom and John Malalas⁴. Although all of the authors provide, statistically speaking, much information about Antioch, none of them reproduces the city's topography in an objective way. Each of them highlights those elements which he finds particularly important. The selection of streets, squares or buildings to be included in a given author's account was determined by a variety of factors, depending on that author's particular interests or worldview (usually religious). For example, Libanius, ill-disposed towards Christianity, does not write about the churches, in spite of the fact that he lived long enough to see the great Antiochian cathedral. Instead, he devotes much space to pagan temples and some of the other buildings that typified the ancient city: streets, squares, bathhouses, etc.⁵. John Chrysostom makes only some general references to Antioch's gates, walls, bathhouses, the agora and court-room, simply testifying to the existence of these monuments in his lifetime. He is a little more specific when it comes to describing Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, but this information, too, is incomplete⁶. Malalas' chronicle, which forms the basis for our knowledge of Antioch's topography in the period from around 475 to 530, describes only a part of the city space (for example, he mentions only 40% of the churches that existed in Antioch during his lifetime). All the references to the city's topography that he makes with regard to the earlier period are also very selective. They are usually grouped into the so-called narrative cycles, revolving around specific persons or topographical elements⁷. To sum up, each of the authors mentioned above described Antioch from a different perspective. However, these

1. MÜLLER 1831; HUG 1863.

2. In chronological order: DEVREESE 1945; PETIT 1955; DOHRN 1960; KURBATOV 1962; DOWNEY 1961; LIEBESCHUETZ 1972; VAN DE PAVERD 1991; SOLER 2006; MAXWELL 2006; MEYER 2006; SANDWELL 2007; CRIBIORE 2007; ALPI 2009; MAYER, ALLEN 2012; SHEPARDSON 2014.

3. Cf. three large collections of articles: KONDOLEON 2000; CABOURET, GATIER & SALIOU 2004; SANDWELL & HUSKINSON 2004; SALIOU 2012. Except for the works mentioned above, a general description of the city, including its topography and urban development cf. MÜLLER 1831; LASSUS 1977, p. 54-102; WILL 1997, p. 99-113; SALIOU 2000a, p. 802-819.

4. For a detailed overview of literary sources, made use of in reconstructing Antioch's topography, including especially the location of its churches and the events connected with them, see MAYER & ALLEN 2012, p. 14-22. Most information comes from homilies, church histories, chronicles and, to a lesser extent, eulogies and hagiographies. Different kinds of sources require the adoption of different kinds of methodologies. The form in which the sources are preserved (I mean a complex process through which the original version morphs into the form that survives in the present), the material of which their authors made use in writing them as well as the worldview towards which they leaned, all of these factors affect their credibility. Different kinds of sources provide different information. Chronicles and church histories describe significant facts from the history of churches, including their erection, destruction or their seizure by one of the Christian factions. Homilies inform us mainly of the roles that particular bishops played in erecting specific churches or offer church descriptions (mainly their interior).

5. Cf. LIEBESCHUETZ 2009 p. 441-443.

6. MAYER 2012, p. 81-86.

7. SALIOU 2016, p. 59-76.

different views of the city do not add up to a coherent description of its topography. Scholars attempt to reconstruct it by combining different elements derived from different sources.

The last general remark. What is most distinctive about the plan of the ancient Antioch is its division into three districts; the first located on the left bank of the Orontes, between the river and the mounts Silpios and Staurin, the second on the right bank of this river and the third one, a river island lying between them⁸. South of Antioch, at a distance of about eight kilometres from the city, there lay Daphne, a wealthy settlement whose history forms an integral part of the history of Antioch⁹. It is believed that in the reign of Justinian the city occupied an area of about 650 ha. However, this applies only to the land enclosed by the city walls. Combined with the suburbs situated *extra muros*, this area was probably twice or even three times as big¹⁰.

HIPPODROME

In the context of social disturbances the Antiochian hippodrome appears for the first time in the account of the chronicler, John Malalas:

Watching a show staged in the hippodrome, Emperor Licinius was verbally abused by the crowd gathered, it appears, in the auditorium.

ἐν τῷ δὲ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἐξιέναι ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας ἐθεώρησεν ἵπποδρόμιον· καὶ ὕβρισαν αὐτὸν οἱ δῆμοι τῆς πόλεως.

The emperor, who became a target of abuse because he had conferred no honours on the city, ordered his archers to shoot at the audience, which led to the death of two thousand men.

ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐφιλοτιμήσατο τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖ ἀναγορευθεὶς βασιλεύς. καὶ ἀγανακτήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἄρμα κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξελθεῖν· καὶ ἐτόξευσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ, καὶ ἀπώλοντο χιλιάδες δύο¹¹.

Malalas' account leaves no doubt as to where the protest broke out and where the ruler decided to respond to it—the hippodrome appears twice in the chronicler's account. These events—their precise dating is not possible—may have occurred either in the summer or in the autumn of 313 (in April 313 Licinius inflicted a defeat on the previous ruler of this part of the Empire, Maximin Daia), and the threat from Persia may have been the reason for which the emperor stayed in Antioch¹². Since Malalas's account of the events is the only one that survives, it cannot be verified by a comparison with other sources. This of course also applies to the number of deaths the chronicler gives.

The food supply crisis stood behind the riots that broke out in the Antiochian hippodrome in 354. Underlying the crisis was a significant rise in food prices brought about either by a poor harvest or by

8. Libanius, author of the most precise description of the 4th cent. Antioch, specifies the old town consisting of the eastern quarter, western quarter and submontane area, the new town and the suburbs *cf.* Libanius, *Or.*, XI, 250 (NORMAN 2000, p. 58-59; *cf.* also the new French edition: Libanios, *Discours* XI. *Antiochikos*, CASEVITZ, LAGACHERIE & SALIOU 2016). For more on the rhetoric and topographical details in *Or.*, XI, *cf.* SALIOU 2006a, p. 273-285 and SALIOU 2012a, p. 43-56. Antioch's topography changed over centuries, *cf.* SALIOU 2013, p. 284-290. *Cf.* also SALIOU 2010-2011, p. 567-578: the earliest known mention of the term Silpios comes from Malalas. The analysis of this source, as well as a number of later ones, indicates that in Byzantine literature the locution « Mont Silpios » is not used as « un toponyme d'usage, mais comme un toponyme littéraire érudit dont les occurrences n'apparaissent que dans un contexte précisément déterminé, qui est celui des récits relatifs au passé mythologique d'Antioche ou à ses diverses fondations ».
9. DOWNEY 1934, p. 107-114; DOWNEY 1961, p. 595-597 (Appendix 6: *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 22.13.1, on the Statue in the Temple of Apollo at Daphne), p. 656-659 (Appendix 17: *Churches and Monasteries in and near Antioch and Daphne*), p. 642 (Appendix 13: *The Palaces at Antioch and Daphne*).
10. *Cf.* MARTIN 1959, p. 38-39. However, recent research (CASSANA 2004, p. 102-125) indicates that the city's north outskirts were destroyed during Justinian's reign and were never rebuilt, which makes it difficult to determine the area it occupied (*extra muros*) at that time and afterwards.
11. Malalas XII, 49 (THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 241).
12. *Cf.* STEIN 1959, p. 92; DOWNEY 1961, p. 335, n. 80.

the necessity of supplying a large amount of food to the army stationed at that time around Antioch in connection with Emperor Gallus's plans to attack Persia¹³. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, who is likely to have been an eyewitness of the events, "the commons of Antioch earnestly besought him [Gallus] to save them in fear of famine". However, the emperor gave no orders that could remedy the difficult situation, "but to the multitude, which was in fear of the direst necessity, he delivered up Theophilus, consular governor of Syria, who was standing near by, constantly repeating the statement, that no one could lack food if the governor did not wish it (*...sed consularem Syriae Theophilum prope adstantem ultima metuenti multitudini dedit id adsidue replicando quod invito rectore nullus egere poterit victu*)"¹⁴.

Although it is not explicitly stated in the above passage from *Rerum Gestarum*, the emperor's exchange with the Antiochians is highly likely to have occurred in the hippodrome —the only place on the plan of the ancient city where Roman rulers entered into face-to-face contact with their subjects and where the latter had a chance to voice their grievances and expectations (as is seen in the first quotation from Ammianus¹⁵). Although the exact location of hippodrome is still open to debate, there can be no doubt that it was found on the island, in the area known as the New City, near the Imperial Palace. In consequence the emperor enjoyed in the hippodrome relative safety from the crowd; it was easy to evacuate him in the face of rebellion¹⁶. With a literal interpretation of the source —which, I believe, is fully justified here— it is not difficult to imagine a governor standing next to the emperor and facing the crowd gathered in the auditorium.

In one of the subsequent paragraphs Ammianus reports that the shortage of food led people to stage the rebellion: „then, as if the governor had been delivered into their hands by an imperial edict, they assailed him with kicks and blows and trampling him under foot when he was half-dead, with awful mutilation”¹⁷. As we can see the hippodrome is not even indirectly referred to in the above excerpt, and such a reference is also absent from the chronicler's last remark about the governor's death “who was torn to pieces in an onslaught of the rabble upon him”¹⁸. Nor does it follow from Ammianus' account that the governor was murdered shortly after Gallus had accused him of incompetence. On the contrary, there must have been a time lapse between the appearance of the first signs of the crisis, that is, high food prices, and the outbreak of hunger. Not only is it indicated by time adverbials used in the fragments quoted above, but it is also suggested by a pattern such a rebellion is known to follow. It usually begins with a verbal protest (the first phase) and then develops into an open assault on the authorities (the second phase)¹⁹. However, the exact chronology of these phases is usually impossible to grasp, and it is no different with the case under examination.

However, proof that Ammianus' words concerning the governor's death refer to the hippodrome is provided by Libanius whose work contains the following remark:

After the death of Theophilus, which that fine governor suffered at the hands of five copper-smiths at the chariot races...

ἐπὶ τῷ Θεοφίλου θανάτῳ, ὃν οὐκ ἄξιον ἐκεῖνος τῶν τρόπων ἐδέξατο χρηστὸς ἄρχων ὑπὸ χαλκέων πέντε κατενεχθεὶς ἐν ἀμίλλαις ἀρμάτων...) ²⁰.

Given the fact that Libanius, a distinguished rhetor, settled in Antioch shortly before the events discussed here, his remark seems quite plausible. Interested in everything which concerned his native

13. For more on the supply crisis in Antioch in 354, cf. PETIT 1955, p. 108; DOWNEY 1961, p. 365; KURBATOV 1962, p. 202-203; DURLIAT 1990, p. 359-360; STATHAKOPOULOS 2004, p. 187-188; CABOURET 2004, p. 125.

14. Ammianus XIV, 7, 5 (ROLFE 1935-1939, p. 55).

15. Cf. for example JONES 1964, II, p. 720-723; MARCONE 1998, p. 358.

16. SALIOU 2009, p. 235-250. Cf. also HUMPHREY 1986, p. 625-632.

17. Ammianus XIV, 7, 6 (ROLFE 1935-1939, p. 55).

18. Ammianus XV, 13, 2 (ROLFE 1935-1939, p. 199).

19. Cf. KNEPPE 1979, p. 22-25, 43; GREGORY 1983, p. 142-143; STATHAKOPOULOS 2004, p. 70-72.

20. Libanius, *Or.*, XIX, 47 (NORMAN 1977, p. 247-248).

city, he often wrote about its problems, and one has no reason to doubt his account. Either he could have been an eyewitness of Theophilus' murder or he could have received information about the latter's death from a well-informed person. The fact that he gives the exact number of Theophilus' murderers lends credence to his account ²¹.

In Antioch, chariot races were regularly organized in the hippodrome. High ranking officials, including governors of the Diocese of the East, are known to have attended such events—which shall be dealt with in greater detail later in this article—and there was nothing unusual about the fact that Honoratus, too, was there in attendance. Libanius' remark should thus be stressed to refer to the Antiochian hippodrome to the exclusion of two other possibilities: that the races were staged in the stadium in Antioch (the so-called Byzantine stadium), for the stadium's infrastructure was not as developed as to make the organization of a large scale sporting event, to be attended by the authorities, possible ²², or that the races were staged in the Olympic stadium in Daphne, where chariot races were held during the Olympic Games (organized in Antioch and Daphne every four years ²³), for this stadium is not even alluded to in Libanius' account.

The following references to riots taking place in the Antiochian hippodrome are dated to the years 488-490 ²⁴. Malalas' chronicle contains the following statement:

Those of the Green faction in the city of Antioch began a fight with stones against the Blues during a spectacle at the hippodrome, while Thalassios the governor and consular was watching. And they struck him on the head with a stone and chased him from the hippodrome

Ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως Ζήνωνος οἱ τοῦ πρασίνου μέρους τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας ἐν τῷ ἵππικῷ λιθοβολίαν ποιήσαντες, θεωροῦντος Θαλασσίου ἄρχοντος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ, δεδώκασιν αὐτῷ λίθω κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐφυγάδευσαν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου.

A source to which we owe our knowledge of subsequent conflicts witnessed by the Antiochian hippodrome dates from as late as the 10th cent. It is *Excerpta de insidiis* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus ²⁵.

During the reign of Anastasios there occurred a disturbance in the hippodrome; there were many fatalities and serious fires, and the four dancers were exiled.

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἵππικῷ στάσις, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον καὶ πολλὰ ἐκαύθη, καὶ ἐξωρίσθησαν οἱ δ' ὄρχησταί.

The events, dealt with in the fragment, took place in the 90s of the 5th cent.; some scholars believe that in 494 or 495 ²⁶. Directly involved in the social disturbances, referred to in the accounts of Malalas and Constantine, were the circus factions. To my knowledge, these accounts remain the only evidence of the circus factions' participation in the riots that occurred in the Antiochian hippodrome.

The events described above left the hippodrome physically unharmed. Only during the earthquake of 13 September 458 did it suffer serious damage. The colonnade and twin towers standing by the

21. Cf. SIEVERS 1868, p. 64-65; DOWNEY 1961, p. 366, n. 226; LIEBESCHUETZ 1972, p. 2-4; On Libanius' credibility, demonstrated with the analysis of the fragments regarding the rebellion of 387, see, cf. French 1998, p. 468-484. On the credibility of Libanius' accounts, as illustrated by the analysis of the descriptions of natural waters and all sorts of water instalments in Antioch see SALIOU 2006b, p. 7-27 where one can read: « Les sources textuelles et l'archéologie, l'iconographie, voire la géographie, confirment les indications de Libanios concernant les adductions d'eau et les bains ».

22. This stadium "was simply exercising ground", cf. CAMPBELL 1934a, p. 33.

23. On the stadium in Daphne cf. LASSUS 1934, p. 132. For more on the Games in Antioch see DOWNEY 1939b, p. 428-438.

24. *De insidiis*, 35 (BOISSEVAIN, DE BOOR & BÜTTNER-WOBST 2003, p. 166.29-167.4); DOWNEY 1961, p. 498-499.

25. *De insidiis*, 36 (BOISSEVAIN, DE BOOR & BÜTTNER-WOBST 2003, p. 167.21-23). The fragments of *Excerpta de insidiis* quoted here probably contain a text derived from Malalas' Chronicle. The whole Chronicle does not survive. Its largest version (*Codex Baroccianus*) survives as the so-called Tusculan Fragments or in passages known from *De insidiis*.

26. On the dating of these events, cf. CAMERON 1976, p. 226, n. 7; Malalas XVI, 2 (THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 319; JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 220, n. 2); DOWNEY 1961, p. 504.

main entrance collapsed²⁷. No references to the hippodrome are made in the descriptions of the great earthquake of 29 May 526, although it is known that with the exception of the area lying at the foot of Mount Silpios the whole city was at that time reduced to rubble²⁸. The buildings that survived the calamity, including those rebuilt afterwards, were destroyed two years later following the new earthquake which struck the city on 29 November 528²⁹. In the years which followed the ground shook in 551, 557, 577 and in 588³⁰. These natural disasters, although their descriptions contain no references to the hippodrome, are thought to have caused its destruction³¹.

THE IMPERIAL PALACE

There are only two references linking the imperial palace with social disturbances that swept across the city. The first incidents, dated to 303, were started by soldiers stationed in the nearby Seleucia Pieria. A detachment, made up of about five hundred soldiers and involved in deepening the harbor, staged a rebellion, hailing their commander, some Eugenius, as emperor. The reasons for this usurpation remain unclear. Libanius' two brief remarks indicate the unit's supply problems and/or its commander's political ambitions³². After leaving Seleucia, the soldiers moved in the direction of Antioch:

They fell upon the farms which they passed on their march, ravaging wherever they went, and late in the afternoon before the alarm could be raised, they had taken the city

προσπεσόντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς [φόρων] πορείαις τοῖς ἀγροῖς καὶ δι' ἧς ἐχώρουν ἅπασαν φθείραντες περὶ δέιλῃν ὀψίαν αὐτάγγελοι τὴν πόλιν κατελιήφεσαν...).

For when they [the inhabitants of Antioch] saw this pretender dashing to the palace and snatching the property of their emperor, they were spurred on by the absurdity of the sight

ὥς γὰρ εἶδον τὸν τύραννον εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον θέοντα καὶ τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀρπάζοντα, τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν ὀρωμένων εἰς παράκλησιν λαβόντες...³³.

The fighting started between the soldiers and the inhabitants of Antioch. There is one detail in the account of the clash which seems to be of particular note:

Even the women took part in the good work, not just with cheering, shouting and hurling bricks down from the rooftops

συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες τοῦ ἔργου οὐχ ὅσον κραυγῇ καὶ ὀλολυγῇ καὶ λίθοις ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγους³⁴.

With the people of Antioch mounting so strong a resistance, the rebellion failed.

In addition to the imperial palace and its immediate vicinity, the rebellion must have also engulfed the oldest, Hellenistic part of the city, where the soldiers were pelted either with stones (if the Greek text is taken literally) or with tiles (such an interpretation of the text in question is also justified). The rebels happened to be in this part of the city as it was situated between the Bridge Gate, to which they first got from Seleucia, and the imperial palace, to which they were going. In the area that was so densely built-up, they stood no chance to succeed.

The imperial palace appears again in primary sources with regard to the year 387. At that time,

27. Evagrius, *HE* II, 12 (BIDEZ & PARMENTIER 1898, p. 63-64); DOWNEY 1961, p. 477-478.

28. Malalas XVII, 16 (THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 349-350); DOWNEY 1961, p. 521-522.

29. Theophanes, *AM* 6021 (DE BOOR 1883, p. 177-178); DOWNEY 1961, p. 527-528.

30. DOWNEY 1961, p. 558, 562 and 568.

31. For more on the hippodrome in Antioch see: CAMPBELL 1934b, p. 34-41; DOWNEY 1961, p. 647-649 (Appendix 14: *The Stadia or Circuses at Antioch and Daphne*); HUMPHREY 1986, *Roman Circuses...*, p. 444-447, 455-459.

32. Libanius, *Or.*, XI, 159; *Or.*, XX, 18; cf. also Eusebius, *HE*, VIII, 6; for more on Eugenius' usurpation, cf. SIEVERS 1868, p. 2-4; PETIT 1955, p. 222, n. 3; DOWNEY 1961, p. 330 (with bibliographic references to older literature on the subject).

33. Libanius, *Or.*, XI, 160-161 (NORMAN 2000, p. 38).

34. Libanius, *Or.*, XI, 162 (NORMAN 2000, p. 39).

Antioch saw the rebellion raised against the surtax imposed on the city by Emperor Theodosius. Shortly after its outbreak, the rebels “started to set fire to some places, and had designs on others, the palace among them... (καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔκαον, τὰ δὲ διεννοοῦντο, ὧν ἦν τὰ βασιλεία)”³⁵. Paradoxically, the rebellion of which our knowledge is most comprehensive left behind only one reference, and quite uncertain for that matter, to the imperial palace³⁶. The last and at the same time key word from the text quoted above is translated today as *palace*. *The palace* appears in A. F. Norman’s translation, *le palais* in the latest French edition (by M. Casevitz and O. Lagacherie³⁷) and also in Roland Martin’s commentaries on Libanius’ *Oration in Praise of Antioch*³⁸. Some doubts as to how the word τὰ βασιλεία should be understood arise in connection with its broad dictionary meaning³⁹. However, given the context in which it appears, it is rightly considered to denote the imperial palace. The passage from the twentieth Oration also indicates that the imperial palace was one of the buildings the rebels were planning to set fire to and not that it had already been set on fire.

Neither the riots from the beginning of the 4th cent. nor the rebellion of 387 caused damage to the imperial palace. It was partly destroyed by the earthquake of 458 (two of the four palace buildings collapsed)⁴⁰. When Severus served as Antioch’s patriarch (512-514), the imperial palace was left abandoned⁴¹, and it is not referenced in the descriptions of the earthquakes mentioned above⁴².

HOUSES

There are two references to private houses to be found in primary sources with regard to social disturbances. The first appears in the context of the rebellion of 354, the one during which the governor of Syria, Theophilus, was murdered. In the words of Ammianus Marcellinus:

...when the lack of provisions became more acute, driven by hunger and rage, they set fire to the pretentious house of a certain Eubulos, a man of distinction among his own people (...*famis et furoris impulsu Eubuli cuiusdam inter suos clari domum ambitiosam ignibus subditis inflammavit...*)⁴³.

Some interesting details about this event are also provided by Libanius:

...and Eubulus and his son had fled before their brickbats to seek refuge somewhere on the hilltops, while the mob, cheated of their persons, vented its wrath against his house. There is the smoke rising to mark the fire », he [Libanius’ cousin] exclaimed: « Look, you can see it »

...Εὐβουλον δὲ σὺν τῷ παιδί δρασμῷ τοὺς ἐκείνων διαφυγόντα λίθους εἰς ὁρῶν ποι κορυφὰς ἀναφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαρτόντας τῶν σωμάτων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀφείναι τὸν θυμόν. καὶ καπνὸς οὕτοσί, τοῦ πυρὸς ἄγγελος, αἴρεται καὶ ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν⁴⁴.

Eubulos may have committed some malfeasance while acting in the capacity of an official responsible

35. Libanius, *Or.*, XXII, 9 (transl. J. C. Rolfe, p. 379).

36. The most important sources are: Libanius (*Or.*, XIX-XXIII; NORMAN 1977, p. 246-407) and John Chrysostom (*De statuis ad populum Antiochenum habitae homiliae*, PG 49, col. 15-222). Key works: HUG 1863, *passim*; BROWNING 1952, p. 13-20; PETIT 1955, p. 238-241; DOWNEY 1961, p. 419-433; KURBATOV 1962, p. 213-214; VAN DE PAVERD 1991, *passim*; PUERTAS & MALOSSE 2007 (unfortunately I was not able to get a hold of this book); cf. also SIEVERS 1868, p. 172-187; MAXWELL 2006, p. 56, 59, 78, 136; SHEPARDSON 2014, p. 94-96, 147-162, 237-238, 247-248. See also the unpublished doctoral thesis devoted entirely to the uprising of 387: MORAIS DA SILVA 2012.

37. Libanius, *Or.*, XI, 161 (CASEVITZ, LAGACHERIE & SALIOU 2016, p. 42).

38. MARTIN 1959, p. 45.

39. *LSJ*, p. 309.

40. Evagrius, II, 12 (BIDEZ & PARMENTIER 1898, p. 63-64); DOWNEY 1961, p. 477.

41. DOWNEY 1961, p. 514.

42. For more on the imperial palace cf. DOWNEY 1961, p. 643-647 (Appendix 13: *The Palaces...*) and SALIOU 2009, p. 235-250.

43. Ammianus XIV, 7, 6 (ROLFE 1935-1939, p. 55).

44. Libanius, *Or.*, I, 103 (NORMAN 1992, p. 168-169).

for making the grain market work properly; he may also have been a member of the City Council ⁴⁵. Based on Libanius' remarks one may argue that his house stood on the left-bank area of the city, in the district lying at the foot of Silpios or Staurin (perhaps the one referred to in Libanius' Oration XI as a foothill area). Fleeing in panic, Eubulos must have sought refuge in the mountains that lay in close proximity to his place of residence—that is, in the western slopes of Silpios or Staurin.

The second reference to a private house affected by social disturbances concerns the year 387 and the anti-tax rebellion mentioned above. In his account of the rebellion, Libanius, in enumerating a number of buildings affected by the riots (to which I shall return later), pays attention to the fact that city councilors remained passive throughout the event in question and failed to react to violence committed by the rebels. The rhetor attempts twice to explain the councilors' indifferent attitude:

how were they to expect them to behave in order matters, especially when the house of one of the notables had already been set on fire?

καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη πυρὸς εἷς τινος τῶν λαμπροτέρων οἰκίαν ἐμβεβλημένου

They were much more concerned, though, for their lives than for their homes

ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείων τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκιῶν λόγος)⁴⁶;

and themselves [rebels] went with fire to attack the house of one who was guilty of no wrong-doing

ἐχώρουν αὐτοὶ μετὰ πυρὸς ἐπ' οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς ἀδικοῦντος μὲν οὐδέν

but yet held to be so by these people who refused to listen to the decrees ⁴⁷.

PRAETORIUM OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE

Among a great number of ancient authors recounting the anti-tax rebellion of 387 ⁴⁸, Libanius is the only one who informs us of where the protest started.

The court-room was crammed with people...

μεστοῦ δὲ ὄντος ἀνδρῶν τοῦ δικαστηρίου... ⁴⁹

An unscrupulous gang found the start for this [rebellion] in the court-room...

λαβοῦσα δὲ αὐτήν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ διακστηρίῳ... ⁵⁰.

The two Greek excerpts presented above end with the word which does denote a court-room (or a tribunal) ⁵¹. In the case under discussion, it must have been the tribunal of the governor of the province (and not of the diocese), for it was the governor of the province who, proclaiming and implementing

45. Cf. PETIT 1955, p. 109, 398; *PLRE* I, p. 287-288 (Eubulus 2); KURBATOV 1962, p. 205; DURLIAT 1990, p. 363.

46. Libanius, *Or.*, XIX, 32 (NORMAN 1977, p. 287-288).

47. Libanius, *Or.*, XXII, 9 (NORMAN 1977, p. 380-381). Some of the houses of the Antiochian elite have been uncovered during archeological excavation that began in the 30's of the 20th cent. A detailed description of the houses discovered during the excavation carried out in the 30's of the 20th cent. is to be found in the work by LEVI 1947, vol. I; a catalogue of eight Antiochian houses, cf. MARTZ, 2011, p. 9-79 [www.hal.archives-ouvertes.fr 10 12 2013]; among minor but important works, cf. STILLWELL 1961, p. 45-57 and DOBBINS 2000, p. 51-61; for more on the urban development in the whole Empire, including the legal aspects of this development, cf. SALIOU 2007a, p. 199-206 and SALIOU 2007b, p. 169-178.

48. Cf. John Chrysostom, *De Statuis*, hom. V, 3, PG 82, col. 1240; *idem*, *De Statuis*, hom. VIII, 4, PG 49, col. 102; Teodoret, *HE*, V, 19; Sozomen, *HE*, VII, 23; Zosimos, IV, 41.

49. Libanius, *Or.*, XIX, 26 (NORMAN 1977, p. 284-285).

50. Libanius, *Or.*, XX, 3 (NORMAN 1977, p. 313).

51. *LSJ*, p. 429.

imperial orders, was thus responsible for collecting taxes ⁵².

Those protesting inside the praetorium were soon joined by the people standing outside (the governor's building) and then "...they attacked the railings of the governor's house, and then its doors [to be precise, *latticed gates* leading to the dikasterion or to bouleuterion ⁵³]... (καὶ παρανομώτερα προσπίπτοσι μὲν οὕτω σφοδρῶς τῇ τοῦ ἄρχοντος κιγκλίδι καὶ ταῖς μετ' ἐκείνην θύραις) ⁵⁴". The identification of the building attacked is only hypothetical. In Greek texts the word "archon" (ἄρχων) is often used to denote the office of the governor of the province—which implies that the rebels attacked the seat of the governor of the province (*consularis Syriae*) ⁵⁵—but of course the dictionary definition of the word is much broader ⁵⁶. In the case under discussion "archon" can also be taken to refer to the governor of the diocese, although such an interpretation of Libanius's words is less common ⁵⁷.

In addition to providing us with information about governor Thalassios, whom, as we know, the Antiochians pelted with stones in the hippodrome (about 488-490), the passage from *Excerpta de insidiis* tells us about an attack on the praetorium of the governor of the province. "Looking around for the man who had struck him, Thalassios recognized him and sent to have him arrested by his commentarienses, and brought him to his praetorium". The interrogation began.

And when the people of the Green Faction heard about this, they rushed to the consuls' praetorium to attack the governor, and set fire to and burned the so-called Xystos, and the whole portico burned as far as the consuls' praetorium...

καὶ γνόντες οἱ δῆμοι τοῦ πρασίνου μέρους ὥρμησαν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον κατὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, καὶ βαλόντες πῦρ ἔκαυσαν τὸ λεγόμενον Ξυστὸν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ καὶ ἀπέσπασαν τὸν δεδωκότα ⁵⁸.

The governor's seat, probably from the reign of Emperor Zeno (474-491) and certainly in the first two or three decades of the 6th cent., was located in the old building of Commodus' bathhouse, near the Forum of Valens ⁵⁹; the earlier location is uncertain—although it does not follow from the fragment of Libanius' oration (XXII, 6) analysed below that in 387 the governor's praetorium was located on the same site. Chrysostom suggests that the seat was located near to the agora, but we do not know whether the agora to which he refers was one lying close to the Old Town or in Epiphania ⁶⁰.

From Malalas' text I have quoted above it follows that the governor's seat was burned, and it is not known whether it was rebuilt on the same site or relocated.

52. Cf. ROUÉCHÉ 1998, p. 31-36; CARRIÉ 1998, p. 17-30.

53. *LSJ*, p. 950.

54. Libanius, *Or.*, XX, 3 (NORMAN 1977, p. 313).

55. Cf. BROWNING 1952, p. 14-15, 19; KURBATOV 1962, p. 216; DOWNEY 1961, p. 427-428 (the author hesitatingly argues that the attackers chose the seat of the governor of the province as their target). According to DOWNEY 1939a (p. 18-19), Libanius sometimes uses the term ἄρχων τῶν ἐθνῶν to refer to the governor of the diocese (*comes Orientis*).

56. Cf. MASON 1974, p. 111-112. See also *LSJ*, p. 254 [s.v. "ἄρχων"].

57. Cf. VAN DE PAVERD 1991, p. 22 n. 51; p. 117 n. 594.

58. *De insidiis*, 35 (BOISSEVAIN, DE BOOR & BÜTTNER-WOBST 2003, p. 167).

59. Cf. DOWNEY 1961, p. 633, pl. 2; SALIOU 2014, p. 665, 668; SOLER 2006, p. 8, 15. On Valens' Forum and public buildings standing in its vicinity see, cf. DOWNEY 1961, p. 621-640 (Appendix 12: *The Forum of Valens and Its Vicinity*).

60. On the dikasterion in John Chrysostom's writings, cf. MAYER 2010, p. 83-84, 92. For more on the agora in Epiphania and other buildings standing in its vicinity, cf. DOWNEY 1961, p. 621-632 (Appendix 11: *The Hellenistic Agora in Epiphania [with Notes on Other Agoras and Forums]*). The agora, to which Chrysostom refers, seems to have been located in the old part of the city. As indicated by the recent archaeological research, Epiphaneia was in operation especially in the Hellenistic era. The importance it held later on is unclear. Its location—according to the long held view, expressed by Downey, it was situated on the slopes of Mount Silpios—is also in dispute. According to the recent theory the district was located higher than Downey assumed, in the highest parts of Staurin, see PAMIR & BRANDS 2007, p. 410-411.

IMPERIAL STATUES

During the rebellion of 387, shortly after the failed attack on the seat of the governor of Syria, the rebels hurled stones at imperial portraits and attacked the bronze statues of the emperor, his wife and his children ⁶¹. Knocked down with ropes knotted around their heads, the overturned statues were either broken into pieces or dragged along Antioch's streets ⁶². Children are reported to have had fun climbing the pieces of the broken statues, jumping from one to the other ⁶³. The emperor's equestrian statue is also mentioned as one which fell victim to the angry mob ⁶⁴.

A bronze statue of Constantine the Great was erected in front of the seat of the governor of the province during Constantine's reign and it is reported that this statue was still standing during the first decades of the 6th cent. In addition to the statue of Constantine, the statues of other emperors and, perhaps, of the family members of Emperor Theodosius who reigned in 387 stood in front of that building (we know of the statues of Valens) ⁶⁵.

THE SEAT OF THE BISHOP

During the rebellion of 387, immediately after the proclamation of the surtax at the seat of the governor of the province, a group of rebellious Antiochians "proceeded to the place where they were likely to find Flavianus (...καὶ προελθόντες οὗ Φλαβιανὸν εὐρήσειν ἔμελλον...)" Having failed to find him, they returned to the governor's building ⁶⁶. The source fails to name the place, but it is believed that the rebels went to the bishop's residence ⁶⁷ which is thought (its location is not specified in the sources from the period) to have been attached to the most important church in the city (the bishop's church, the so-called Great or Gold Church) ⁶⁸. The fact that Libanius is not specific about where the rebels went is quiet remarkable, and it only confirms our suppositions. A pagan, deeply attached to pagan culture, not only did he fail to mention the church in his account of the event in question, but he also neglected to do so in his description of the so-called New Town. Absent from his Oration, for the same ideological reasons, are other Christian churches ⁶⁹.

A reference to the bishop's seat appears again with regard to the year 531. When Emperor Justinian threatened to inflict banishment on/banish the Monophysites who refused to take Communion at orthodox churches (the Monophysites were particularly numerous in Syria, including Antioch) "a riot broke out in Antioch, and the mob burst into the bishop's residence, throwing stones and chanting insults. Those who were in the patriarchate came out... (καὶ γενομένης ταραχῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ὥρμησαν οἱ δῆμοι ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ λιθοβολοῦντες καὶ φωνὰς ὕβριστικὰς κατακράζοντες. καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ παραμένοντες ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ...)" ⁷⁰. The rebellion was suppressed the before *comes Orientis* and other officials left the building. Other details concerning these events remain unknown.

61. Libanius, *Or.*, XXII, 7 (NORMAN 1977, p. 378). In addition to presenting the image of the emperor, these portraits also represented his power; provincial officials swore an oath of loyalty to the emperor in front of his portrait. This oath swearing was followed by the acclamation by the city's inhabitants; the destruction of imperial portraits or statues was considered *crimen laesae maiestatis*, cf. DYJAKOWSKA 2010, p. 36-47 who quotes *Digesta* XLVIII, 4, 6 (MOMMSEN & KRÜGER 1954) "*Qui statuas aut imagines Imperatoris iam consecrates conflaverint, alidve quid simile admiserint*".

62. Libanius, *Or.*, XX, 4 (NORMAN 1977, p. 312); *Or.*, XXI, 5, (NORMAN 1977, p. 350-351; *Or.*, XXII, 7 (NORMAN 1977, p. 378).

63. Libanius, *Or.*, XIX, 29 (NORMAN 1977, p. 286); *Or.*, XXII, 9 (NORMAN 1977, p. 380).

64. Libanius, *Or.*, XIX, 30 (NORMAN 1977, p. 286-287).

65. Malalas, XIII, 3 (THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 244). DOWNEY 1961, p. 349, n. 144. On imperial statues mentioned by Chrysostom and knocked down during the rebellion of 387 cf. MAYER 2010, p. 91-92, the work does not attempt to identify the location of these statues. Cf. also SALIOU 2006c, p. 70-94 (especially the table p. 90-93).

66. Libanius, *Or.*, XIX, 27 (NORMAN 1977, p. 285-287).

67. DOWNEY 1961, p. 427-428.

68. For more on the cathedral cf. MAYER & ALLEN 2012; GOILAV 2012, p. 159-178.

69. Libanius, *Or.*, XI, *passim*, especially XI, 196 and 272; DOWNEY 1961, p. 663; SALIOU 2012a, p. 50-53.

70. Malalas XVIII, 64 (THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 390; JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 273); cf. DOWNEY 1961, p. 527.

BATHHOUSES

As can be inferred from the first two fragments quoted above, the attacked bathhouses were located near the governor's seat —however nowadays it is impossible to precisely identify these bathhouses. As we remember the location of the praetorium is uncertain. It was located either near Commodus' old bathhouses, in the vicinity of the Forum of Valens, or near the Agora, probably the one situated in the Old Town. The third remark refers directly to Trajan's bathhouses which, as we know from other sources, were located in the so-called Old Town, that is, on the left bank area of Antioch, although not necessarily near to Valen's Forum. Since their precise location is now impossible to determine ⁷¹, we are left with two possible options: Either these anonymous bathhouses, referred to by Libanius in the first two fragments, were actually Trajan's or the latter had nothing to do with the former, and were separately attacked by the rebels.

On 9 July 507, with the Olympic Games in progress, the green faction started riots in Daphne. Shortly afterwards, the riots spread to Antioch as members of the faction entered the city:

at the bath known as the Bath of Olbia...

ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν τὸ λεγόμενον τῶν Ὀλβίης...

opposite what is known as the basilica of Rufinus, they were met and joined battle with the combined forces of the praefectus vigilum and the members of the Blue faction in the street of the Thassalioi [should be Thalassioi]

...καὶ ὑπηντήθησαν κατέναντι τῆς λεγομένης Ῥουφίνου βασιλικῆς ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν τὸ λεγόμενον τῶν Ὀλβίης. καὶ συμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ῥύμην τῶν θαλασσίων μετὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τοῦ νυκτεπάρχου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Βενέτου μέρους δημοτῶν μάχην ⁷².

The fact that Trajan's bathhouses continued to operate after 387 can be treated as evidence that no serious damage was inflicted on them during that year's rebellion. As can be inferred from Evagrius' account, small fragments of Trajan's terms were destroyed by the earthquake of 458 ⁷³. We can only guess (no information about this is to be found in the sources from the period) that the bathhouses in question were damaged by one of the earthquakes which struck Antioch in the 6th cent. Olbia's bathhouses are known to us only from the above account by Malalas ⁷⁴, from which it does not follow that these bathhouses were attacked or destroyed during the rebellion of 507.

XYSTOS

Both Xystos and the porticos that linked it with the praetorium of the governor of the province were burned down in the rebellion discussed above and dated to the years 488-490. Xystos was a sports facility built with a view to holding athletic competitions organized as part of the Olympic Games. It was located near to the Forum of Valens, between the temple of Athena and Commodus' bathhouses, in the vicinity of the temple of Olympian Zeus and close to Plethrion, a building where wrestling competitions were held during the Olympic Games ⁷⁵.

PRAETORIUM OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE DIOCESE OF THE EAST (*COMES ORIENTIS*)

The first documented assault on the seat of the governor of the diocese of the East took place in 543 of the Antiochian era, that is, in 494 or in 495:

While Kalliopios was in office the Greens of Antioch attacked him in the praetorium, but

71. DOWNEY 1961, p. 212, 226, 458; SALIOU 2014, p. 678.

72. Malalas, XVI, 6 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 223; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 325).

73. Evagrius, II, 12 (BIDEZ & PARMENTIER 1898, p. 63-64); DOWNEY 1961, p. 478; SALIOU 2014, p. 678.

74. DOWNEY 1961, p. 506, 631; SALIOU 2014, p. 671, 681.

75. MÜLLER 1831, p. 94; DOWNEY 1961, p. 233. Cf. also SALIOU 2014, p. 668-670.

he escaped to safety

καὶ ὡς ἄρχει, ἐπῆλθον τῷ αὐτῷ Καλλιοπίῳ οἱ Πράσινοι Ἀντιοχείας ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ.
καὶ φυγὼν διεσώθη ⁷⁶.

The word *praetorium* has a wide semantic range (it can be used to denote the seat of a high ranking official). In the quotation above it refers to the office of the governor. The identification of the attacked building as the residence of the governor of the diocese is based on the identification of the office held by Kalliopius —who, according to Malalas, served as κόμης ἀνατολῆς ⁷⁷, that is, the governor of the diocese of the East.

The praetorium of the *Comes* of the East is mentioned again in Malalas' chronicle in the context of the rebellion which the Greens raised in Daphne on 9 July 507. The riots started during the Games, which were held every four years both in Daphne and in Antioch. When one of the Green wrongdoers was killed as a result of the action taken by the detachment tasked with the protection of public order, his companions took the body and, carrying it, entered Antioch.

The entire basilica of Rufinus was burned, including the two tetrapyla on each side of it, and the praetorium of the *Comes Orientis*. All these were destroyed by the fire and collapsed

καὶ ἐκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ Ῥουφίνου καὶ τὰ δύο τετράπυλα τὰ ἐντεῦθεν κακεῖθεν καὶ
τὸ πραιτώριον τοῦ κόμητος τῆς ἀνατολῆς, καὶ πάντα κατηνέχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς
διαφθαρέντα ⁷⁸.

As can be inferred from Malalas' account, fire was first set to the basilica and then spread towards the tetrapyla, finally engulfing the praetorium of the governor. Hypothetically, the praetorium was not the rebels' first target.

The seat of the governor of the diocese of the East, as early as the reign of Constantine the Great, was based in the Temple of the Muses (*Museion*) ⁷⁹. *Museion* was located near the agora which lay in the Epiphany quarter. Surviving the rebellion of 494 or 495, it was burned down in 507. We have no information concerning the building after 507.

SYNAGOGUE IN DAPHNE

In Daphne, during the chariot races held at the Olympic stadium on 9 July 507, the mob, encouraged by one of the chariot drivers of the Green faction, "attacked the Jewish synagogue (...) they [the mob] set fire to it, plundered everything that was in the synagogue and massacred many people (κατελθόντες ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῇ οὔσῃ ... ἐνέπρησαν αὐτήν, πραιδεύσαντες πάντα ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ καὶ ἐφόνευσαν πολλούς)" ⁸⁰.

BASILICAS ⁸¹

The rebellion which the Greens raised in Daphne on 9 July 507 was shortly followed by the outbreak of the street fighting in Antioch where the rebels clashed with the hostile faction of the Blues and the unit commanded by the *praefectus vigilum*.

76. Malalas XVI, 2 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 220; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 319).

77. Malalas XVI, 2; cf. PLRE II, p. 251 (s.v. "Calliopios 2").

78. Malalas, XVI, 6 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 223; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 325).

79. DOWNEY 1961, p. 355, 624.

80. Malalas XVI, 6 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 223; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 324). This fragment indicates that the riots were directly followed by the erection, perhaps by the rioters themselves, of St. Leontius' new martyrium. However, ALPI 2006 (p. 239-240) points out chronological inaccuracies to be found in Malalas' account and, relying on other sources, tries to prove that the martyrium was built six or seven years later, under completely different circumstances.

81. The term is meant to convey the meaning of an architectonic form which "tout espace dont la couverture est supportée en partie par des colonnes" (SALIOU 2000c, p. 220 et n. 23).

The Green faction got the better of the encounter, seized the basilica of Rufinus and that known as the basilica of Zenodotos, and set fire to them. The entire basilica of Rufinus was burned [...]

περιεγένετο ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Πρασίνου μέρους, καὶ παραλαβόντες τὴν Ῥουφίνου βασιλικὴν καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Ζηνοδότου ἔβαλον πῦρ, καὶ ἑκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ Ῥουφίνου...⁸².

The basilica of Rufinus was built on the site of the temple of Hermes during the reign of Constantine the Great (according to G. Downey) or Theodosius I (C. Saliou's opinion). It owed its erection to the initiative of a high ranking official, probably the *Praefectus Praetorio*, after whom it was named. According to Downey, the basilica of Rufinus was located near to the agora in the Epiphany quarter. Also close to the agora, or in its close proximity, was the basilica of Zenodotus⁸³.

The basilica of Rufinus became an accidental target of the rebels; it simply happened to be located at the point at which they encountered opposition from the Blues and the police unit —such a view is at least supported by a literal reading of Malalas' account. However, setting fire to both buildings must have been a deliberate action which the Greens undertook in revenge for the harsh way in which they were treated by the authorities. The basilica of Rufinus is known to have been completely destroyed. The fate of the basilica of Zenodotus remains unknown. Neither of them is mentioned in the sources created later on. In the fragment that follows the description of the 507 riots, Malalas also mentions Rufinus's basilica (XVI, 8: "Ἐκτίσεν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Ῥουφίνου καὶ κατὰ πόλιν τῆς Ῥωμανίας διάφορα κτίσματα). Assuming, hypothetically, that 1. the basilica was actually built in the 4th cent. and not later, and 2. the arrangement of particular paragraphs in Malalas' chronicle reflects the chronological order of the events, this information can be regarded as indicating the reconstruction or restoration of the basilica damaged during the riots. The chronicle's fragment (XVI, 19) refers to the erection of the church the Holy Mother of God "opposite the building known as the basilica of Rufinus", which may suggest that the basilica really existed.

THE STREET THALASSIOI

The street is referred to in the above passage from Malalas in the context of the riots started by the Green faction in July 507:

Located in the immediate vicinity of both basilicas, that is, near the agora in the Epiphany quarter, the street witnessed the fighting between the police and the Blues on one hand and the Greens on the other

καὶ συμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ῥύμην τῶν θαλασσίων μετὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τοῦ νυκτεπάρχου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Βενέτου μέρους δημοτῶν μάχην, περιεγένετο ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Πρασίνου μέρους⁸⁴

THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN

The church appears in descriptions of the riots which broke out in July 507. Facing the riots, raised by the Greens in Daphne and Antioch, the authorities set out to detain the troublemakers. When the latter took refuge "at St John's outside the city (εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην ἔξω τῆς πόλεωσείς)" the *praefectus vigilum*, leading the unit responsible for maintaining order, "entered the church (εἰς τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον)" and killed one of the rioters whom he found "under the holy altar in the sanctuary (τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης)".

82. Malalas, XVI, 6 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 223; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 325).

83. DOWNEY 1961, p. 349-350, p. 630-631 (Appendix 11: *The Hellenistic Agora...*); 650-653 (Appendix 15: *Malalas on the Work on Constantine the Great in Antioch*); SALIOU 2016, p. 68.

84. Malalas, XVI, 6 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 223; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 325); MÜLLER 1931, p. 105; DOWNEY 1961, p. 506, 623.

Then he “dragged his body from the sanctuary (τὸ ἅγιον θυσιαρίου) and cut off his head...”⁸⁵.

The location of the church, and the source quoted above is the only one that informs us of its existence, is uncertain. From Malalas’ account it follows “that the church lay across the Orontes from the city”⁸⁶. The chronicler’s description indicates that there was a time lapse between the outbreak of the riots in Daphne, their escalation in Antioch and the police action in St. John’s Church. This leaves one justified in locating the church on the other side of the river, at some distance from the town which it took some time to cover.

THE RIVER ORONTES

The river Orontes is referred to in the context of religious oppression that marked the reign of Emperor Valens. Supporting the Arians, the emperor launched persecutions against the orthodox population “killing many by the sword and drowning others in the Orontes river which flows by (πολλοὺς ἀνελών μαχαίρα καὶ ἄλλους ἀποπνίξας εἰς τὸν παραρρέοντα Ὀρέντην ποταμόν)”⁸⁷.

The river Orontes also appears in the account of the rebellion raised by the Greens in 507. The *praefectus vigilum* returned to Antioch with the head of one of the rebels whom he had condemned to death and decapitated.

... when he reached the bridge over the river Orontes, he threw the head into the river

...καὶ ἐλθὼν ἕως τῆς γεφύρης τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ ἔρριψε τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν...⁸⁸.

This demonstration of power served as a warning sent to those who might want to rebel in the future. However, we do not know which bridge is meant here⁸⁹.

A few years later, in late 511 or early 512, the Monophysites monks “burst into the city in a body, with commotion and utmost confusion” in order to make Antioch’s orthodox bishop, Flavian, reject the decisions taken by the Council of Chalcedon. However, the monks encountered opposition from the people of Antioch and “as a result many of them [the monks], indeed a countless number were allotted the Orontes as their grave, their body being laid to rest by the waves (ὥς καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναριθμήτους αὐτῶν τάφον τὸν Ὀρόντην κληρώσασθαι, τῶν σωμάτων τοῖς κύμασι κηδευθέντων)”⁹⁰.

THEATRE

In 529 “...a riot occurred in the theatre at Antioch the Great (ἐγένετο ταραχὴ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ)”. Consequently, the emperor banned the staging of plays (τὴν θέαν τοῦ θεάτρου) in Antioch⁹¹. These events, of which we have only a scarce knowledge, may have been connected with the activity of factions which sparked riots in different cities at the beginning of the reign of Justinian I. Given the fact that the emperor was informed of the riots, their scale must have been quite significant. The staging of plays was resumed in Antioch in 531, which indicates that the emperor’s ban was lifted and that the rebellion of 529 left the theatre relatively unharmed.

Leaving the theatre in Daphne aside (which can be excluded from our analysis), there was also a theatre in Antioch, probably in the lower parts of Mount Silpios. It was built either in the Hellenistic times (having fallen into ruin, it was rebuilt by Julius Caesar, as Downey suggests) or in the Roman era, at an order from Julius Caesar⁹².

85. Malalas, XVI, 6 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 223; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 324).

86. MAYER & ALLEN 2012, p. 83.

87. Theophanes, AM 5864 (MANGO & SCOTT 1997, p. 92; ed. C. De Boor, p. 59); Cedrenos, p. 545.1-5 (ed. I. Bekker, vol. I).

88. Malalas XVI, 6 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 223; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 325).

89. Libanius, Or., XI, 208 (NORMAN 2000, p. 49): The Oration mentions five bridges that link the so-called New Town with The Old One.

90. Evagrius III, 32 (WHITBY 2000, p. 174; BIDEZ & PARMENTIER 1898, p. 130-131).

91. Malalas XVIII, 41 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 262; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 376).

92. DOWNEY 1961, p. 155-156. Cf. also SALIOU 2012b, p. 29; SALIOU 2012a, p. 52 (different terms by which Libanius denotes

MESE, THE MAIN COLONNADED STREET

Theophanes' chronicle contains information that in the seventh year of Emperor Phocas' reign the Antiochian Jews rose in rebellion against the local Christians, killing the patriarch Anastasius and mutilating his body. After that "they dragged him along the main street (καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σύραντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μέσσην)". Before the authorities suppressed the rebellion, the Jews killed many Antiochians, burning their bodies⁹³. Cedrenos and Zonaras, who probably follow Theophanes in giving this information, offer no topographical details⁹⁴.

According to Downey, Theophanes' account, along with those written later, draw on the source tradition originating in the fighting of circus factions that broke out in Antioch, as well as in other cities of the Empire, in September 610⁹⁵. The account of the fighting in question can be found in two sources. Although chronologically close to the events described, the sources offer no topographical details concerning Antioch: *Doctrina Jacobi* contains information that the Comes of the East, Bonosus, quelled the rebellion staged by the Green faction in Antioch (and that the Greens set fire to Mese [οἱ πράσινοι (...) ἔκαυσαν τὴν Μέσσην], Constantinople's main street)⁹⁶ and *Chronicon Paschale* records the fact that the news of the Antiochian patriarch's death reached Constantinople⁹⁷.

What we learn from Theophanes can be a distorted version of the account included in *Doctrina Jacobi* (assuming that the phrase ἐπὶ τὴν Μέσσην, used by Theophanes, is a distorted version of the phrase τὴν Μέσσην). In my opinion, it seems most plausible that the riots took place in the streets of Antioch, perhaps in the largest of them (or in what was left of it after a series of earthquakes that struck the city in the 6th cent.), to which Theophanes referred by the name by which it was known in Constantinople⁹⁸. Dragging dead bodies through the streets or killing people by dragging them along the streets had often been the case before⁹⁹.

UNSPECIFIED PLACES

Sometimes, even if social disturbances are addressed by a given source, no references to the location of the conflicts, of which it gives an account, are to be found in it. The above description of the protest raised by the monks against Flavian in 511 or 512 suggests that the riots that broke out on that occasion may have affected different parts of Antioch. The river Orontes must have been just one of the points at which the rebel monks appeared. Such a view is supported by the information, to be found in the same paragraph in Evagrius' account, that some other monks "came to the city in order to support Flavian (ἔπεισι τῇ Ἀντιόχου ἀμύνειν τῷ Φλαβιανῷ βουλόμενον)". As a result, "events of no small significance took place (ὡς κἀνταῦθα οὐ μικρά τινα συμβῆναι)"¹⁰⁰ between different groups of monks. Later sources

theatre, amphitheatre, Plethrion and Xystos); CASELLA 2012, p. 60 (different meanings of the word θέατρον are not necessarily connected with topography); MAYER 2012, p. 84 and 91 (theatre was located near the church in which homilies were delivered). From the same article (p. 86) we learn that Chrysostom did not always use such words as bathhouses, agora or theatre to refer to some specific place or a building. The words formed part of what can be referred to as a "symbolic topography". On the issue of building theatres and other buildings of mass entertainment in the era of the early Roman empire see AGUSTA-BOULAROT 2012, p. 138-142.

93. Theophanes, *AM* 6101 (MANGO & SCOTT 1997, p. 425; ed. C. de Boor, p. 296).

94. Cedrenos, p. 712 (ed. I. Bekker, vol. I); cf. [?] and Zonaras, XIV.14.31-32 (ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, vol. III).

95. DOWNEY 1961, p. 572-573.

96. *Doctrina Iacobi*, ch. 40 (ed. G. Dagron, Paris 1991 [*Travaux et Mémoires* 11], p. 128-129).

97. *Chronicon Paschale*, s.a. 610 (transl. M. Whitby, p. 149-150; ed. L. Dindorf, vol. I, p. 699).

98. Devoted to the main street is the work by LASSUS 1972; cf. also CABOURET 1999, p. 127-150.

99. Cf. the death of Hermogenes, *magister equitum* (Constantinople, year 342: Socrates, *HE*, II, 13; Sozomenos, *HE* III, 7; Hieronim, *Chronicon*, s.a. 342; Photius, *Bibl.*, 257; Nicephor Callistes, *HE* IX, 7); the death of George, the bishop of Alexandria (Alexandria, year 361: Socrates, *HE* III, 2; Ammianus, XXII, 11; *Chronicon Paschale*, s.a. 362); the death of Hypatia (Alexandria, year 415: Socrates, *HE* VII, 15; Jean de Nikiou, LXXXIV, 87); the death of Proterius, the bishop of Alexandria (Alexandria, year 457: Evagrius, II, 8).

100. Evagrius, III, 32 (WHITBY 2000, p. 174; BIDEZ & PARMENTIER 1898, p. 131).

mention only some disturbances that occurred “in Antioch”¹⁰¹.

The conflict between the Monophysites and the orthodox population, as well as a great number of killings committed in its course, are known to us from Malalas’ chronicle¹⁰² and from works by Theophanes¹⁰³ and Cedrenos¹⁰⁴, whose accounts are known to be based on that by Malalas. These events are dated to 560-561¹⁰⁵.

Information about social disturbances in Antioch appears again with regard to the year 573. At the news of the Persians approaching Antioch, whose walls were at that time in a poor state, and the patriarch himself decided to save his life by fleeing the city “...the populace had rebelled in its desire to begin the revolution...”¹⁰⁶.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The laconic nature of the sources does not allow one to offer some clear-cut conclusions. Source references to the topic in question are usually very brief and made in passing in discussions of other issues. Information on social disturbances to be culled from primary sources is often lacking in topographical details. Thus, places or buildings connected with the riots remain unknown. Sometimes a sentence or even a phrase allude to a place or a building which one may try to identify based on a general knowledge of the period, one regarding, for example, the riots that occurred in other cities. Only rarely can we rely on narrative accounts that contain significant topographical details, specify the areas affected by the riots, or inform us of damage done to the city infrastructure. However, even if the riot-stricken areas are specified in the account with which we are dealing, such a specification includes only some of the places affected by the conflict, and not all of them. It is clear, for example, that the riots must have unfolded in the streets of Antioch, yet streets are specified only twice in the sources from the period. Because of the nature of the source material, all that can be said of the city’s topography and the social disturbances that swept the city is only hypothetical.

2. The riots affected mainly public buildings (only very rarely did the riots affect private houses—two confirmed cases). The sites of mass entertainment (hippodrome, theatre, xystos), the seats of state and church authorities (the imperial palace, the praetorium of the governor of the province, the patriarch’s residence), bathhouses and basilicas are among the buildings that are most often specified in the sources in the context of riots. Following the old ancient habit, the authorities discharged their duties outside their official residence—for example, in a hippodrome or in a theatre (the case of 354). Throughout the centuries rebellions followed the authorities, breaking out where the latter moved their operation.

3. The suburbs on the right bank of the river Orontes, with a small number of buildings and without public offices, were, unlike in the case of a modern metropolis, quite calm. The riots occurred on the island (The New Town). However, all the known cases of riots that swept across this part of the city took place in the 4th cent. In the periods that followed the island saw no social disturbances, which resulted from the fact that it dwindled into political and administrative insignificance—beginning in the reign of Emperor Valens, Byzantine rulers stayed in Constantinople, and the imperial palace in Antioch was no longer used as their residence. Most often the riots broke out in the left bank area of Antioch, recurring at irregular intervals throughout the period from the fourth to early seventh centuries. Since the riots of which we have knowledge took place in the vicinity of the Forum of Valens, one may argue that these parts of the city were most dangerous. Of course I take into consideration only large scale disturbances recorded in primary sources, leaving common banditry out of my analysis.

101. Theophanes, *AM* 6003 (MANGO & SCOTT 1997, p. 234; ed. C. de Boor, p. 153-154); cf. DOWNEY 1961, p. 510-511.

102. Malalas XVIII, 131 (JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS & SCOTT 1986, p. 299; THURN & MEIER 2009, p. 422).

103. Theophanes, *AM* 6054 (ed. C. de Boor, p. 253-254).

104. Cedrenos, p. 679, 1-4 (ed. I. Bekker, vol. I).

105. DOWNEY 1961, p. 558.

106. Evagrius V, 9 (WHITBY 2000, p. 268; BIDEZ & PARMENTIER 1898, p. 204-205). Cf. DOWNEY 1961, p. 561-562.

4. There were no churches among the buildings attacked by the rebellious population (I omit here the fire of the temple of Apollo at Daphne —our sources [Theodoret, *HE*, III, 12, 1; Ammianus XXII, 13, 1] do not mention any struggles, riots relating to this event). This is an important conclusion which confirms the view, most strongly advocated by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz¹⁰⁷, that different denominations lived in Antioch on a peaceful basis. The Church of St John, mentioned only with regard to the clashes between the Greens and the police, only proves this rule. The burning of the synagogue in Daphne, the only sacral building destroyed during the riots, was something unique. It was an isolated incident—one of the two known attacks on synagogues in the long history of Antioch¹⁰⁸.

Even assuming that some important events are omitted from different authors' accounts, it seems unlikely that throughout three centuries mostly Christian authors failed to make any references to the riots that took place around or within Antiochian churches—especially when such riots are often mentioned with regard to Constantinople or Alexandria¹⁰⁹. The recent research into the topography of Antiochian churches shows that the city's churches often changed hands, passing from one Christian group to the other. One is even justified in saying that there was something of a regular rotation in the control of particular churches¹¹⁰. If this rotation was violent and brutal, involving a huge number of people (I want to stress one more time that such episodes are known to have taken place in Constantinople and Alexandria, while no references to this effect can be found with regard to Antioch), one might argue that the Antiocheans did not live with each other on a peaceful basis. Given the possibility of offering different interpretations of the same events, the topic in question requires further analysis that lies outside the scope of this article¹¹¹.

5. Our evidence leads us to believe that damage suffered by the city during riots was limited to certain buildings, with the sources recording a total destruction of only three of them: the praetorium of the governor of the province, the praetorium of the governor of the diocese and the basilica of Rufinus. Other buildings mentioned in the context of riots either suffered no damage or the damage was not extensive enough to make them fall out of use (bathhouses are a good example here). Most of the buildings mentioned in this article were destroyed during the earthquakes that struck the city in the 6th cent.

107. LIEBESCHUETZ 2009, *passim*.

108. *De insidiis* 35 (BOISSEVAIN, DE BOOR & BÜTTNER-WOBST 2003, p. 167.5-167.20).

109. Cf. HAAS 2007; FILIPCZAK 2009; HAHN 2004.

110. MAYER & ALLEN 2012, p. 200-208 (contains many examples).

111. The rotation in the control of particular churches implies rivalry between different Christian parishes. Such rivalry in turn implies that various Christian groups were aware of the differences that existed between them. But we do not know to what extent the awareness of these differences developed into open hostility. The sources do not record street scuffles, violent verbal exchanges and other minor incidents. The question is whether such incidents might be adduced in proof of some deep religious divisions. One also has to take into consideration other possibilities. Some authors may have deliberately omitted churches from their accounts of riots; churches may have avoided falling victim to violent attacks for political reasons (the imperial authorities may have supported one religious group, thus making other groups abstain from trying to seize control of particular churches). That different churches were not violently attacked does not necessarily prove a peaceful coexistence of different religious groups. Such an interpretation was suggested to me by Wendy Mayer.

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